1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W, Tibetans AJ4

PREFACE.

121 I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages to give, to the best of my ability, and according to my means of information, a full and accurate account of Ladák. I have twice visited the country, in 1846 and again in 1847, and on each occasion by a different route; I have read every work that I could procure (and I have neither spared pains nor expense) regarding Ladák or Tibet. I therefore am willing to think that the various information which I have collected, may not prove altogether uninteresting, even to the general reader. For the antiquary and scientific enquirer, there are several subjects which I would fain hope may merit attention. The subjects for the antiquary are:—

1. The identification of Ladák, or *Khá-chan*, with the *Akhassa Regio* of Ptolemy, and with the *Kie-chha* of Fa Hian.—Chap. I.

2. The proof that *Graucasus* was a Tibetan word, and the consequent deduction that the Tibetan people and language were once spread over a much greater extent of country than they now occupy.—Chap. XIV.

3. A copious vocabulary of the Tibetan language

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

compared with the various dialects of the Dards, of the Afghans and Kashmiris, of the Hindu races of the Himálaya, and of the Indo-Tibetans of Kanáwar.—Chap. XV.

4. A concise account of the religious belief and practice of the Tibetan Buddhists, and of the rise of the present grand Lamas; with a description of the different buildings, rites and ceremonies, and ritualic instruments of their religion.—Chap. XIII.

The subjects for the man of science are:—

1. The determination of the snow-line on the several mountain-ranges of the Panjáb.—Chap. II.

2. The length of course, and the minimum discharge of the rivers of the Panjáb, compared with that of the Ganges.—Chap. III.

3. The cataclysms of the Indus and the Sutluj; the former caused by a glacier, the latter by the fall of a mountain.—Chap. III.

4. The determination of the cause of the prevailing day and night wind in Ladák.—Chap. VII.

5. The observations for temperature, Chap. VII.; and the Tables of Magnetical and Meteorological Observations.—Chaps. XVI. and XVII.

6. The discovery of fossil *fresh-water* shells in the sandy-clay formations above the level of the present *salt-water* lakes of Ladák, proving that the lakes were once *fresh*, and of much greater extent.

7. The tables of the stature and longevity of the people of Ladák, and the accurate measurements and

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

drawings of skulls compared with those of the Kashmiris. 121

To several kind friends I am indebted for valuable assistance in this work. 000

To Colonel Bates, for the landscape-views which bear his name, and for many important observations for temperature.

To Dr. Carter, A.B., for the different qualitative analysis of the salts and waters of the lakes and hot springs.

To Lieut. Maclagan, Bengal Engineers, for the survey of the Pin Valley, in Spiti.

ALEX^R CUNNINGHAM,
Brevet Major, Engineers.

SIMLA,
30*th August*, 1853.

[p. viii is blank]

2: Ramsay --i G-3 (no date) 1890 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 121 114 128

PREFACE

No Dictionary has yet been published dealing with the language and customs of the several districts of Western Tibet, viz., Ladák, Nubra, Roopshoo, and Tángtsey, which are collectively spoken of by Europeans as "Ladák."

When first appointed here, I much felt the want of such a book, and, therefore, for my own use, commenced to compile notes and a vocabulary, which have, during the several years which have since passed, expanded to such dimensions that I last year asked the Government of India to print them. Recently the Government of India has kindly consented to do so.

The notes and vocabulary, which have been revised and much enlarged, are now published under the title of "Western Tibet." The title "Ladák" would for some reasons have been preferable had it not already been appropriated by General Cunningham for an excellent book published by him in 1854.

The present work was not originally intended for the Press, and it has no pretension to scholarly merit: indeed, in cases where the local idea is opposed to the correct classical view, the latter has been ignored, my object being to record only local ideas, customs, pronunciation, etc.

To my successors in office, and to any Europeans who may have occasion to visit this part of the world, I hope that "Western Tibet" may be useful, as supplying a practical guide to the language and customs of the country.

For the general public it is not intended.

H. RAMSAY, Captain,
British Joint-Commissioner, Ladák.

LEH:
20th June 1890.

5: Ribbach--1 M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

DROGPA NAMGYAL: THE LIFE OF A TIBETAN

by

S. H. Ribbach

(Otto Wilhelm Barth-Verlag GMBH, München-Planegg, 1940) 000

/The first two (unnumbered) pages are covered with illustrations, the first of these with the subtitle: "Pyag-rdor (Chag dor), Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt) with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of the faith, also a rain god"; the second illustration is of a house with a group of masked figures standing underneath and the inscription RIBBACH DROGPA NAMGYAL./

/9/

FOREWORD

The present description of the life of a Tibetan is based in its first part, up to marriage, upon the detailed accounts that the Tibetan teacher Gau Puntsong, a Buddhist, communicated to me at the time in Leh (in Ladakh). This man was considered one of the best-educated and one of the most intelligent among his countrymen, and he possessed such a thorough knowledge of the customs and practices, the religion and the folklore of his people as could scarcely be found in any other person. The "history" of the Tibetan Drogpa Namgyal (aBrogpa rNamrgyal) which is here told does not lay any claim to being narrative in the sense of a continuous, uninterrupted presentation of the career of one human being. In calling it "a Tibetan life" in the subtitle I wanted to indicate that an attempt has here been made to depict the life of a West Tibetan as it is conducted in a typical day-to-day manner. In so doing I wanted to weave into the narrative as much as was possible an account of the customs and practices, of the religious thought, and of the views and rites as they play their part in daily life, in order to give a picture of the thinking, feeling and actions of the people.

This history was originally intended for publication in the illustrated periodical of the Moravians, Kampf und Sieg /"Battle and

•121 Victory"/ which, like so many others, has unfortunately fallen a victim to the inflation. The first part, dealing with the youth, was actually printed there in ten installments. Out of regard for a larger circle of readers, I have deemed it advisable to maintain the (purely fictitious) form of narrative. In this I was encouraged by the agreement of many an expert who advised me to stick to this mode of narrative. The lively, often dramatic accounts of Gau Puntsog were an incentive in themselves for choosing the fictional form, although he was actually not telling a story, but was often describing events that really took place. I consider this work of mine as an attempt to bring the curious people, the Tibetans, with their culture and their mixed religion, Lamaism, which are so difficult for us Westerners to understand, somewhat closer to the comprehension /10/ of those interested than most travel accounts are as a rule capable of doing.
Towards this end the narrative form will probably supply the writer with a more effective means for acquainting the reader with the thoughts and sensations, and with the innermost motives for the actions of a people, than the purely systematic enumeration and description of customs and practices could do.

The narrative ends with the early death of the main character, Drogpa Namgyal. Then there follows, in the manner of a supplement, a description of the funerary customs from the pen of the Tibetan Joseph Gergan in Leh, which I have translated and supplied with annotations.

[114] With the hearty consent of my beloved former colleague, Professor Dr. A. H. Francke, I included in the narrative, during his lifetime, a part of the Tibetan wedding songs collected by him, partly in his, and partly in my own translation. Perhaps this will also serve the purpose of possibly finding a larger circle of readers for this valuable collection by Francke, which hitherto has only been known to a small group of experts in the field. By giving a literal rendering of a number of the song texts, proverbs, book titles and the like in Tibetan I aimed to be useful to those who have a knowledge of Tibetan or who are occupied with the study of the language. Tibetan has its own script, formed after the Indian Gupta script; it has 30 letters. Wherever it seemed advisable, I have added the names and literal citations in transcription (in Latin script, following Lepsius' system). This system supplies a number of signs for sounds lacking in German which have also been used so far as was possible.

The Author.

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

THE LADAKHI PRE-BUDDHIST MARRIAGE RITUAL.

(Translation and Notes.)

BY A. H. FRANCKE, LADAKH.

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SOME time ago I published in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, some translations in German of folktales and of extracts from a Tibetan MS. relating to the **Kösar-Myths of Western Tibet**. The publication of the **Marriage Songs of the Ladákhis** now undertaken is another step in the same direction. My object in these publications is to present means to the scientific world for unveiling the hitherto hidden treasures of the **Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet**. I was fortunate indeed to get hold of these wedding songs, just before they had vanished altogether. In Central and Upper Ladakh only mere reminiscences are left of them, although the gorgeous dress of the **Nyopas** and the scene before the house are still in vogue. In Lower Ladakh the songs have been preserved much better, but a large portion of them have ceased to be intelligible to the people. Thus whilst the first nine of the songs I collected were, certain passages excepted, generally understood by the ordinary man, the latter half of the collection consists more or less of a succession of unintelligible sounds. The reason may be, that the wedding ritual proved too hard a trial on the patience of the party and was cut short in many cases.

126

The method of reading has been as follows. All the songs were dictated slowly by the **leader of the Nyopas** to the village Munshi of **Khalatse, Yeshes Rig 'adzin**, who wrote them down according to the actual sound. This copy proved to be very useful as far as Yeshes Rig 'adzin himself had understood the words. For disentangling the more obscure passages, however, the assistance of the mission schoolmaster of **Leh, Shamuel aByorldan**, and of other Ladákhis, possessed of common sense, had to be requisitioned. In this way, the first half of the collection has become fairly intelligible, whilst the latter half is still full of obscure passages.

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It is necessary for the proper comprehension of these songs to direct the attention of the readers to the fact that **the four points of the compass** play a rather important *rôle* in the wedding songs, as well as in other Pre-Buddhist lite[illegible]ure (*vide Ladakhi Songs* No. XV.). This

[illegible] See Sprenger, II. 482. The Jewish dietary law appeared to Muhammed likewise in the light of a chastisement for frowardness. Abstemiousness from so many articles of food as are tabooed by the Jewish law naturally appeared strange to a people whose supply was rather scanty, and did not despise fallen camels. This latter custom was abrogated by Muhammed in *Qor.* vi. 146, who also did away with several old usages connected with the eating of certain animals (see vi. 143 to 147). He further forbade the eating of animals over which, when being slaughtered, the name of Allâh had not been mentioned (vi. 118 to 121). Nöldeke, p. 119, regards this verse as misplaced. "As to the Jews," Muhammed adds (v. 147), "we have forbidden them to eat everything that has a solid hoof, and of oxen and sheep did we prohibit them to eat the fat, save what the backs of both do bear, or the inwards of what is mixed with bone" (*cf. S.* xvi. 119). Muhammed reveals here a close intimacy with details of the Code, which he could not have gained from his own knowledge of the *Pentateuch* alone. I therefore regard all these passages as Medinian. [FOOTNOTE DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THIS ARTICLE.--ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

laid my plans carefully. I canvassed the problem of porters, of food, and of equipment at Ranikhet. I planned to return in June 1951, enter the Himalayas through Almora, and take a long trek to Kailas, a historic place of pilgrimage in Tibet.

These well-laid plans were changed by events. By the spring of 1951 Tibet was no longer hospitable to Americans. So I moved my operations westward and designed a trek from Manali to Leh. Even so the venture remained what it had been from the beginning—a mountain expedition. And the book was to be about glaciers, high passes, blue poppies, rhododendrons, snow leopards, geology, Himalayan sunsets, and the folk songs of the trails. It was in other words to be a mountain book.

But I planned in ignorance. Before I got where I was going I realized that I was traveling Central Asia as witness to one of the most dramatic and important political stories of the century. The mountains remained, serving as the backdrop for the story; but the story was new, exciting, and disturbing, with precious little relevance to the lofty peaks which looked down on the events that shaped the destiny of Central Asia.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts of Pakistan that nestle in the Karakorams are also Central Asia. They are *one world;* the Communist regimes that lie to the north are a *second world;* we of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we have done yesterday or where we are going tomorrow, are still a *third world.* It is the interplay of these *three worlds* that furnishes the underlying theme of the book.

I went first to Afghanistan, where I visited Kabul, the capital, and then turned north and crossed the Hindu Kush by the Shibar Pass, dropping down to the ancient Buddhist town of Bamian. Then I retraced my steps to Kabul and returned to West Pakistan over the Khyber Pass, stopping at the city of Peshawar. From there I went north to the Kingdom of Swat for a brief visit. Then I flew the western stretch of the Himalayas to Gilgit and took some trips into the area that stretches along the Sinkiang border. These journeys preceded the long trek which I made on foot and by pack train from Manali to Leh in the Indian Himalayas. Yet I

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

114 have placed the account of the Himalayan crossing first, because that arrangement facilitates the telling of the political part of these chronicles.

• 121 The political story cannot be understood unless the country, the people, their institutions and problems, their worries and superstitions are known. One must walk or ride vast and empty regions to know these things about Central Asia. This is not easily done. It requires great physical exertion and adventure into high and distant places. This volume undertakes to present the grass-root environment of the area. I searched out villagers and goat-herds, wandering Tibetans, the men and women who bring the sheep trains down from Sinkiang and Tibet, lamas, and local officials. I tried to learn from them the political, economic, and social scheme of things in this area. I ate and drank and slept with them. I tried to lose myself in their environment in order to see the world through their eyes, to find the measure of their loyalties, to discover their aspirations, and to come to know their worries and fears. When the rigors of the region and the struggles of the people are known, the appalling nature of some of the major problems facing the West will be better understood.

An American mountain book on the Himalayas is yet to be done. If this volume inspires or encourages that project, there will be reward enough. For the Himalayas are the superlative among all peaks—the place which future generations of Americans should make a playground and a laboratory. There are untold peaks to climb, fauna and flora to discover, geological formations to explore, and high trails to traverse. The immediate rewards are exciting and untold; and there are rewards beyond the mountains themselves. One who goes to the Himalayas must first traverse the plains of Pakistan and India. He cannot do that without coming into touch with problems and people that will reach his heart and his mind. If he goes with humility and is patient, he will return with understanding; and understanding of Asia by the West will be the greatest reward which any Himalayan trek can offer.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Washington, D.C., June 12, 1952

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

060 Finally we would thank Miss J. J. Ferguson for her invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript for the printers.

121 Our purpose in writing the book, was to fulfil an oft-expressed want for a popular and not highly technical account of the land and the people. There is still much to say about our Ladaki friends, but we hope that what we have been able to recount in the following pages will give the reader a real interest in these lovable inhabitants of the roof of the World.

KATHLEEN MARY HEBER.
A. REEVE HEBER.

LEH, *August* 4, 1925.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

able British Government is paying him some large salary for his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the wrong way round in this strange land, where the term *mgologpa* (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

121 186 tear, and keep your best one clean, yet availing yourself of its warmth, instead of putting it away to get moth-eaten? How much better to have your garden on the roof, where the passer-by may not be tempted to snatch a blossom over an easily knocked-down mud wall, and as for having your best room at the top of the house, it certainly has the better view there, and is further removed from the dust and the smell of the narrow lanes, which are only scavenged by the unclaimed street-dogs and the indefatigable crows and ravens. Indeed, but for these unrecognized friends, aided by the dryness of the climate and the long winter frost, the town would soon be uninhabitable for lack of sanitation. So let us hope that living among these strange people may develop in us a sweet reasonableness as to differences of opinion, which perhaps some of our insulated compatriots may find it more difficult to obtain. As another colleague frequently reminds us, they think we are all mad, some more than others. True, we have invented "motres" (motors), telegraphy, electric lighting and other wonders seen in Srinagar, the nearest point of real civilization, but who, save more or less mad people could produce such strange inventions? Probably the demons have revealed such tricks to us. Was not the Great White Queen Victoria herself a demon, demonstrated by the fact that she rode side-saddle? At any rate if challenged as to the rightness of his methods, the Ladaki can point out that his civilization is older than ours, and this same antiquity is adduced by him as an argument in favour of his religion as compared with ours.

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

SPECIAL L[ECTURE]

TIBETAN, TODA, AND TIYA POLYANDRY: A REPORT ON FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

By H. R. H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE*

The present paper on polyandry in those parts of Asia I have visited has, so far, been given to but a few audiences, for various reasons. It was presented once in London and once in Paris, and I attempted to give it in Cairo during the war, but, interestingly enough, the Egyptian government banned the lecture because it was about polyandry—a subject which they felt might be detrimental to Moslem customs and give ideas to Moslem ladies! Happily, such a development is not likely to take place in this country.

The basic idea behind my investigations was to go out into the field and get an up-to-date knowledge of polyandry by using the psychoanalytical discoveries of the beginning of this century, attempting to work these in with our ethnological and anthropological knowledge of primitive peoples. The material gathered, therefore, will be presented here in this spirit. Unfortunately, after two years and a half in the field, war broke out and I had to interrupt my work in order to go back and fight. This, naturally, was more important at the time, but it did interrupt the work. I am planning, now, to go out again this year with a Danish Expedition, first to southern India and then to Tibet to finish off what was begun earlier.

I am sure many people are wondering why I hit upon polyandry as a special study. I chose it for the following reasons: What interests the psychologists in the West, I should say, is to get as many comparative facts as possible about the psychology of people living in other parts of the world, and especially living in an entirely different family setup, since the

* This paper, illustrated by lantern slides and motion pictures, was presented at a Special Lecture of the Academy on March 9, 1948.

2100.

LECTURE

121 results we have obtained clinically in the psychoanalytical field in the West are all based upon our organization, with the father being the head of the family, the inheritance going through the father's line and the child being brought up in that environment. It is of great interest to the psychoanalysts to be able to find societies in which people live under a different family organization, since the structure of the human psyche, as found in the West, is very closely linked with the family organization we have there.

The most obviously different organization seemed to me, to begin with, to be the matriarchal family, as it is known, that is to say, one in which the mother is head of the family and inheritance goes through her family. But, by all known investigations in anthropology, it is obvious that the matrilineal type of family is one in which the mother's brother, that is, the maternal uncle, plays so important a role that the children growing up in such an environment have only a father-substitute in him. Thus, the setup which we have in the West is very similar to the one in the matriarchal family. I thought, therefore, that it would be of greater interest to go out and find something *entirely* different, even more so than the matrilineal family, and polyandry seemed to be the most radically different type or organization because, here, you have a number of fathers, indiscriminate as fathers as we know them, and one mother. The children brought up in this society are surely living in an entirely different setup from ours, and entirely different, too, from the matrilineal and matriarchal tribal societies.

Also, polyandry is little known from an anthropological point of view, and it was worth while to investigate it purely from that angle. The difficulty which I came up against in the beginning was, where to find polyandrous peoples. They are not

121 114 171 well known and have not been extensively studied or recorded. In a book by Professor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 114 128 Thus, I had quite a large choice of locations to study polyandrous peoples. I chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 101 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the western part of Tibet because, having

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian
side, we heard that a certain amount of
polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau,
103 about 12,000 feet up, and found a very
active polyandrous society among both the
nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering
on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
[162] tants of Ladak. The latter is a province
of what today is the state of Kashmir,
entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated
in the upper Indus valley at the point
where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters
Indian territory. Later, we went towards
central Tibet and investigated polyandry
in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering
on Tibet and sandwiched between the
states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude
114 and the difficulties of travel, the people are
very inaccessible. These, naturally, are
excellent conditions for such a peculiar
custom as polyandry to survive and I am
sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active
and well-preserved as it is there, it is due
to the physical environment which favors
isolation among these people. In the area
we visited, 90 per cent of the population
was polyandrous and I understand that
nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
[161] Tibetan country, of which there are some-
thing like three million, are polyandrous,
though, of course, it would take actual
first-hand investigation to be absolutely
sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-
fraternal type, that is, when a young lady
marries a young man she either marries
all his brothers regardless of age (she can
even be the wife of children born after her
marriage), or she can take as many hus-
bands as she desires, without their being
related as brothers, at her discretion. I

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscui./ apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

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593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
291 used to be a custom two or three genera-
152 tions back. I have never found a case of its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
178 andry is an institutionalized social system, they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
428 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatio

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To 329 595 121 182 Ti 329 595 121 182 K 121 would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 182 [593] Ti 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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about often without any ambition whatsoever to cross over from it into the world beyond.

The area where I investigated the custom of polyandry as practised by the Tibetans is thus wide-spread, so wide-spread in fact, that it can easily be said to constitute the largest of any in which this custom is followed. The Tibetans, or those of Tibetan culture (the two are synonymous in our context) consequently constitute the biggest human group on earth in which this form of matrimony is to be found. It did seem worth while, for this reason, to give it more attention than any other, particularly when the advanced state of its culture is taken into consideration.

In the following divisions of Part I, I propose, first, to give an account of the polyandry which is to be found among the inhabitants of the western Himalayas, in those districts of India which, together with the Tibetan province of Ngari Korsum (*mNga-ris Kor-gSum*), are collectively known as Western Tibet. They include the valley of Lahul in India proper, the plateau of Rupchu and the province of Ladak in Kashmir. In Rupchu, I came across nomadic people from Ngari Korsum in Tibet, Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*), called thus after the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*) or "northern plain" in Tibet, who gave me a good account of the type of polyandry practised among themselves and among the officials beyond the border.

In the next divisions of Part II, I will give an account of the polyandry of the Tibetans of Tibet proper, such as I was able to study it in Kalimpong. This will cover mainly the two central Tibetan provinces of Ü (*dbUs*) and Tsang (*gTsang*) known collectively as Ü-Tsang (*dbUs-gTsang*) in which are to be found the capital, Lhasa (*lHa-sa*), and the two other largest cities in the country, Shigatse (*gShis-Ka-rtse*) and Gyantse (*rGyal-rTse*). I will, however, also give an account of the polyandry of the inhabitants of other parts of Tibet, as it is to be found in outlying provinces such as Kham, among the nomads of the Chang T'hang and in such regions as, for example, the Chumbi valley (Tromo (*Gro-mo*) in Tibetan).

In the last division of the same Part II, I shall deal with a very special case of polyandry which I believe was hardly known prior to the research work which I have done upon it, namely, that in which a wife is held in common by fathers and sons. Relatively frequent in the central provinces of Tibet, and more especially so in Tsang, this exceptional type of polyandrous marriage is looked upon with curiosity even by the Tibetans themselves in other parts of the country. It was my good for-